643 A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant;
301 A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;
[532] A green stone nose rod;
A fine turquoise nose rod;
A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;
A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[9]
A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;
A golden band for the calf of the leg;
[237] A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;
A quetzal bird as headdress;
Quetzal feather horns;
A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;
A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a curved extension;
A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;
A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;
643 Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the
[276 ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself
416] when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced.
[282 Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with
281] embroidery—embroidered sandals.
[534] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for
533 two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells;
Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.
415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.
● 351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.
415 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for
314 the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the
534 two-toned drum was sounded.

apatlacxompilolli, cuxtic teucujtlatl,

metzxompilolli cuxtic teucujtlatl,
chalchiuhiacaxnäjtl,
texxiuhiacaxnäjtl,
chalchiuhxoncuat oloïuhqui, tlacxnqujxtilli, tlacxcuat,
cuxtic teucujtlachaiaxac cuxcat, chalchiuhtlacatzaalli itic mäni,
quetzalxuächcxcotl tlaçotlanqui nepapan tlaçotilitica, ioan cuxtic teucujtlaio,
cuxtic teucujtlacoxcuxcotl,
quetzalmacpanjtl,
quetzalxoxicpacxochitl,
quetzalquapaxujtl,
quetzalcacaxoastli cuxtic teucujtlaio
xiuhmacopilli,

cuxtic teucujtlachipulcoxcatl,
teucujtlaicuxtic acuechcoxcatl,
xuchitl, ietl, inxicaxujl tlatoani, teuatl inje mexica tlatoani, inje muchichioa amanteca inpial, in iuquich inmaçoxia tlatoani.

oçelocuxcactli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,

teponaztli, teponaztlxixtli, veuetl xiacachali cuxtic teucujtlatl, temilacatl cuxtic teucujtlatl,

cujcanjme, mjtoticatl, teponaçoanj, ueuetzoanj, tlatzontequj, cujcaitoanj,

tlaxippetlacalli, in vncan mopioa, in iuquich onjto. Veuej toptanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacuxcatl, moncalli, xuiacatl, teucujtlaxcaçoatl cuxtic teucujtlatl,
xuchiquaujtl momanxia, in tecpan itoaleo, inmexica cuxca: cx maçoxax in tlatoanj,

texcatzontli, tziquaxxitzontli, olmaitl inje mexica teponaztli.

1. Cf. Joüon, Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique, § 2, p. 90; also corresponding Spanish text.
2. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., II, pp. 1096, on etymology of ornaments.

28

524 525 were[2] all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green stones, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoises, quetzal feathers, slaves, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if then he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of throws. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

526 411 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this belonged a bracelet on which were large, round, green [301 643] stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With [223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

● 351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 524 There were their jesters who provided them solace and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There [732] were their servants, their pages who attended them and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, [231] servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

chalchihuipej anoço teuxiujtl, quetzalli, tlaxcalli, calli, mjlli, tlapetlmantli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchihuitemetl, teucujtlanacochtli, xamaoujtilmatli. Auh in aquja patlanj, in qujchaiaoa in ell, intla centetl ell ic temjxochili, in mocpetltiuac ell, in vmpa ic tzinmjnjltic: cenca tetzammachoia, cenca tlamaujçolli ipan zacatia: njman mochi quitlanj, in jxquich tlaçotli, in motlanjoa in macuxel xiamo açi in quenquj tetl aqujlli, injc nezennonozcalo, injc nezapalo.

Tlatlamjna tlaujchica, tipostica, tezenjtica, tlacochtica: ielaujcallo, matzopetztli ipan ca, uej chalchiuitl, chalchihuipej, anoço teuxiujtl in jxnoquechtlan qujtlalia tlaiaoanj.

Tlatlacaloatuja, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhuatztli, injcallo telol-tenatlatl mjmjltic injc mopetlaoa telolotli, ic qujmoxia tepitzton totome, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca tetemalhatl: injc qujmaçi nepapan totome,

motzochimjltia, motzochitepantia, cxpoja, in jxquich nepapan xochitl,

vncatqz intetlaveuetzqujticaoaoan in qujmelleloqujztiaia, in qujcetzmeltia: ioan quauhcatzoque in quipapaqujltia mjiec tlamantli in jntlachiual teoetzquja, ioan mauiztic, in jca ixocpal tlaujpa injc tlemati çe tlacatl, uemanac in quammjmjlli in quixoxia ica ixocpal xiquetztoc acopa in conmaiaoj quammjmjlli çe ixhuatl in jxocpal ic tlemati,

mjiec tlamatli, in teoccmelti in quichioa, vncatca imaochtlac, inoloan in quinujcaxiuoca in quimelleloquiztiaia, tzapame, villame, tepotzome, teachme, quiquinia quaquaubti, oçelome, cuicuitlachtin, cuauhchin, nepapan toxol.

2. The Real Academia de la Historia MS reads quahtzon (the original) instead of quahtlatlo.

Thirty-four Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards came with the brigantines and took after those who were in boats in order to join battle with them, and then emerged and came to arrive near all the houses.

Inje cempoalli onmatlactli oce capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles ic valiciaque in vergantines, quiquavalcacque in acaltica nenca in quinnamiquito: njmã ic valquizque itech acico in jiquich calli. 726

And when they had reached [the guns], thereupon they fired upon the wall. And the wall then gave way and parted from behind. And the second time [the shot] struck, the wall then fell to the ground destroyed; it burst open, pierced through. Then likewise the road appeared clear [of men]. And the chieftains who were by the wall then dispersed. All fled from there, escaping in terror. And all the various men [allied to the Spaniards] then quickly advanced filling each canal. Then they speedily leveled them with stones, adobes, and stone logs so that they were filled.

Auh in oncochichiuhque: njmã ie ic quivalmotla in tenamjtl: auh in tenamjtl, njmã tzatzaian, cuitlaxcolloh. Auh inje vppa vetz: njmã tlaltineçh in tenamjtl, vevelocac, vmpet, onctzion: njman no iuhquin chipacpul mocuetz vtli. Auh in tiacavã in tenantitlan onoca, njmã ic valxitinque, valnetlaloloz, nemauhcaquixtilo. Auh in jiquich nepapan tlacat: njman iciuhca conteretentivi in acalotli, njman iciuhca coeixmana tetica, xixtica yoan cequj quavitl inje tlaxaqque.

And after the canals had been filled, then came the horse[men]; perhaps ten of them. They rode in a circle; they came wheeling about, twisting and circling. [And] once again horse[men] came, following after the others. And a number of Tlatilulcans who had quickly entered the palace which had been the house of Moctezuma then emerged in terror, and came up against the horse[men]. One [of them] lanced a Tlatilulcan. And though he had speared him, yet he took hold firmly of the iron lance. Then his companions went up to tear it from [the rider's] hands, threw him down upon his back, and upset him. And when he had fallen tumbled to the earth, they hit him repeatedly, they struck him on the back of the head. He died there.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ommotzcop acalotli: njman ie ic valoua in cavallome, ago matlacteme, ontlaivaloco, ontlamalacachoco, ommocovitzaco, ommocevilacachoco: ic no ceppa centlamantli valevaque in cavallome, quinvalicuitlapãvitiaque. Auh cequjntin tlatilulca talactivetzque in tepan catca in jchan motecuçoma: njman ic valmauhcaquiçaia, quimonmotzmjctico in cavalloatin: oc quixilico in tlatilulca. Auh in oquixilico, oc vel can in jepantepil: njman quimacuilico in jcnivan, icuitlapan quioalmaiauhque, quivaltzineuhque: auh in otlalpan vetzico mec quivivinquj, concuexcochivitzque, encan onmjc.

Therefore the Spaniards assembled and set out together. Then they reached Quauhquiyouac (the Eagle Gate). And they took with them the hundred guns and the equipment which went with it. They placed it at the Eagle Gate. (And for this reason is it called the Eagle Gate, that there stood an eagle carved in stone, a good man's height tall — so high — and flanking it stood, on one side, an ocelot, and on [the other] a wolf, likewise hewn of stone [)].

Nimaa ie ic quioalcentlaça, oalcemolinj in Españoles: njmã ic onacico in quauhquiyouac. Auh in tomaoac: ilcquiquiztli quivicatlvi, inteuquj ietiuh, contecaque in quauhquiyouac. (Auh inje motenoua quauhquiyouac, ca vncan icaca in quauhtli, uel in tlaxixintli, vel onnequetzalli inje quauhtetic, inic vecapan: auh quixtzacuxtimanj, in centlapal icaca ocelotl: auh in centlapal icaia, cuitlachtli, çanno uel in tlaxintli. Auh in ie iuhquj in vevei tiacavan, oc nã [35] 552

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648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma. 342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. [501 503] There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

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of poles and thatch of Indian tribes, none of whom had risen above a state of barbarism. Much no doubt was due to the natural surroundings; the white City with its numerous teocallis was embowered in trees and surrounded by the blue waters of the lake sparkling under a tropical sun, a lake that was alive with a multitude of canoes passing and repassing to the other white cities on its shores, and in every direction the horizon was closed with a splendid panorama of forest-covered hills, while to the south-east the eye always rested with delight on the beautiful slopes and snow-covered peaks of the two great volcanoes. It is an enchanting scene to-day, in spite of the shrinkage of the lakes, the smoke from factory chimneys, and the somewhat squalid surroundings of a modern city, and but little effort of imagination is needed to appreciate the charm that it must have exercised in the days of Montezuma.

The Viga Canal still survives as a water-way by which produce is brought into Mexico from the market gardens or chinampas of Lake Zochimilco, and it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that the canal which ran from the Viga Canal along the south side of the great square past the convent of San Francisco was finally filled in. For many years the roadway beside it was known as the "Calle de Canoas," and the names Puente de la Leña (Fire wood bridge), Portal de las Flores, etc., still mark the localities where the different commodities were sold on the banks of the Canal. Indeed, the course of many an old water-way can still be traced in the modern City by the names which have clung to the localities since the days of the conquest and are now attached to the streets.

The Upsala map seems to show that there was an embankment or pallisade along the east side of the City, necessary as a protection against the wash of the waves from the lake, but on the other sides the entrance of the numerous canals was probably through tree-lined chinampas and orchards, similar to the approach to Xochimilco at the present day. Gardens and groves were evidently numerous in the City itself; the Mexicans were distinguished for their love of flowers, and there is no climate where gardening is more remunerative than in these tropical highlands when water is plentiful. The flowering plants cultivated on the roofs of the houses must have added greatly to the picturesque aspect of the streets and canals.

Bernal Díaz tells us how clean the surroundings of the great temple were kept, where not a straw or a spot of dust could be seen (filth seems to have been confined to the temples themselves where the horrid rites of their religion were performed), and this cleanliness probably extended to the City itself, for it will be observed by any traveller in Mexico or Central America that the purely Indian villages of considerable size are almost always kept swept and tidy, while this is not the case in the towns and villages inhabited by the mixed race.

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463 judgment of what they did then, for there are three Indians to-day in the City of Mexico named Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz and El Crespillo, so skilful in their work as sculptors and painters, that had they lived in the days of the ancient and famous Apelles, or of Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in our times, they would be placed in the same company. Let us go on to the Indian women who did the weaving and the washing, who made such an immense quantity of fine fabrics with wonderful feather work designs; the greater part of it was brought daily from some towns of the province on the north coast near Vera Cruz called Cotaxtla, close by San Juan de Ulua, where we disembarked when we came with Cortés.

[837] In the house of the Great Montezuma himself, all the
463 daughters of chieftains whom he had as mistresses always
581 wore beautiful things, and there were many daughters of Mexican citizens who lived in retirement and wished to appear to be like nuns, who also did weaving but it was wholly of feather work. These nuns had their houses near the great Cue of Huichilobos and out of devotion to it, or to another idol, that of a woman who was said to be their mediatrix in the matter of marriage, their fathers placed them in that religious retirement until they married, and they were [only] taken out thence to be married.

463 Let us go on and tell about the great number of dancers kept by the Great Montezuma for his amusement, and others who used stilts on their feet, and others who flew when they danced up in the air, and others like Merry-Andrews,[1] and I may say that there was a district full of these people who had no other occupation. Let us go on and speak of the workmen that he had as stone cutters, masons and carpenters, all of whom attended to the work of his houses, I say that he had as many as he
463 wished for. We must not forget the gardens of flowers
351 and sweet-scented trees, and the many kinds that there

[1] [i.e., buffoons.—Bunyst]

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were of them, and the arrangement of them and the walks, and the ponds and tanks of fresh water where the water entered at one end and flowed out at the other; and the baths which he had there, and the variety of small birds that nested in the branches, and the medicinal and useful herbs that were in the gardens. It was a wonder to see, and to take care of it there were many gardeners. Everything was made in masonry and well cemented, baths and walks and closets, and apartments like summer houses where they danced and sang. There was as much to be seen in these gardens as there was everywhere else, and we could not tire of witnessing his great power. Thus as a consequence of so many crafts being practised among them, a large number of skilled Indians were employed.

As I am almost tired of writing about this subject and my interested readers will be even more so, I will stop talking about it and tell how our Cortés in company with many of our captains and soldiers went to see Tlaltelolco,[1] which is the great market place of Mexico, and how we ascended the great Cue where stand the Idols Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos. This was the first time that our Captain went out to see the City, and I will relate what else happened.

CHAPTER XCII.

How our Captain went out to see the City of Mexico and Tlaltelolco, which is the great market place and the great Cue of Huichilobos, and what else happened.

As we had already been four days in Mexico and neither the Captain nor any of us had left our lodgings except to go to the houses and gardens, Cortés said to us that it would be well to go to the great Plaza and see the great

[1] Tutelulco in the text.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

423 they had originally settled, the solid surface was eventually much
311 too small for their numbers, and they themselves put an efficient stop to further growth thereof by converting, as we have seen elsewhere, for the purpose of defence, their marshy surroundings into water-sheets, through the construction of extensive causeways.[80] While the remnants of the original "tecpantlalli" and of the "tlatocatlalli" still remained visible in the gardens, represented to us as purely ornamental, which dotted the pueblo of Mexico,[81] the substantial elements wherewith to fulfil a purpose for which they were no longer adequate had, in course of time, to be drawn from the mainland. But it was not feasible, from the nature of tribal condition, to extend thither by colonization. The soil was held there by other tribes, whom the Mexicans might well overpower and render tributary, but whom they could not incorporate, since the kinships composing these tribes could not be fused with their own. Outposts, however, were established on the shores, at the outlets of the dykes, at Tepeyacac on the north, at Iztapalapan, Mexicaltzinco, and at Huitzilopochco to the south, but these were only military positions, and beyond them the territory proper of the Mexicans never extended.[82] *Tribute*, therefore, had to furnish the
651 means for sustaining their governmental requirements in the matter
423 of food, and the *tribute lands* had to be distributed and divided, so as to correspond minutely to the details of their home organization. For this reason we see, after the overthrow of the Tecpanecas, lands assigned apparently to the head war-chiefs, to the military chiefs of the quarters, "from which to derive some revenue, for their maintenance and that of their children."[83] These

[80] "Art of War" (pp. 150 and 151). L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society," Part II, cap. VII. pp. 190 and 191).

[81] Humboldt ("Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," vol. II, lib. III, cap. VIII, p. 50). Nearly all the old authors describe the public buildings as surrounded by pleasure-grounds, or ornamental gardens. It is very striking that, the pueblo having been founded in 1325, and nearly a century having been spent in adding sufficient artificial sod to the originally small solid expanse settled,—the Mexicans could have been ready so soon to establish purely decorative parks within an area, every inch of which was valuable to them for subsistence alone!

[351]

[82] The Mexican tribe proper clustered exclusively within the pueblo of Tenochtitlan. The settlements at Iztapalapan, Huitzilopochco and Mexicaltzinco were but military stations—outworks, guarding the issues of the causeways to the South. Tepeyacac (Guadalupe Hidalgo) was a similar position,—unimportant as to population,—in the North. Chapultepec was a sacred spot, not inhabited by any number of people, and only held by the Mexicans for burial purposes, and on account of the springs furnishing fresh water to their pueblo.

[312 764]

[83] Tezozomoc (Cap. XV, p. 34). See note 37.